1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan [illegible]6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

Tn 665

lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

T 622 624 632

Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

T 624

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

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As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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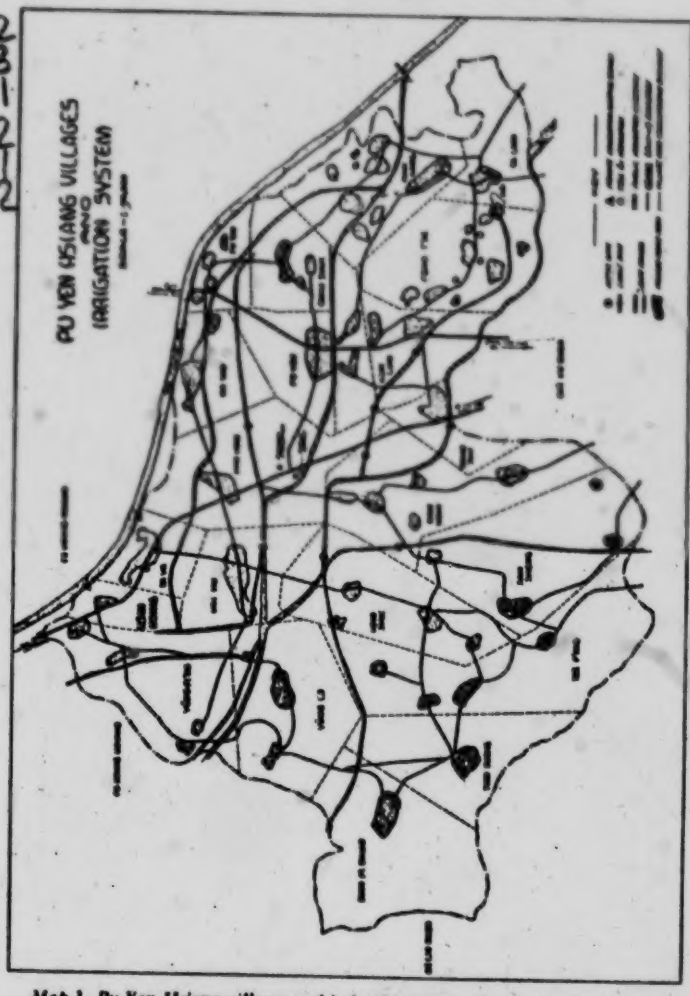

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

PREFACE

128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Fort Li).

128 104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems, T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
464 economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance
reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei,
the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the
Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they
are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents
had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part
of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate
in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do
not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily
to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic
reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei
towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level
of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese
and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[493] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653 route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each
day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, pos-
sessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
536 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this struc-
ture are the superordinate government levels such as town-
ship, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant
units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit
of the official government, it has few functions, serving
only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a
postal address. However, the village appears to be a
prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese.
In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in
size, large villages are divided into two or more li;
medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages
are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example
of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part
of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two
contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across
each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships.
One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and
Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair
of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives
against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.
624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

[562]

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the

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632 621 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li, township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 628 665 621 Regional Factions in the Li

One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population. [648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
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665 The ideological differences between these factions
621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
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665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

666 The use of the term election in this account carries im-
• 632 plications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 There is a long history in China of local control
558 and local decision-making processes, usually based on
632 finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

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121 **Ideological Factions in the Li**

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local
• 632 affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in dis-
121 putes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was
632 from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

665
632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666
632 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the man to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

121 665 591 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

• 632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. [931] For example, when an assessor is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. [212] [19] [55] Basic qualifications for office include literacy and fluency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth requirements for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 624 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

• 632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

794 Talei Li. The five villages have always participated in
• 632 maintaining the li temple except that in the recent period, Wulei, as previously mentioned, has been taken over by Mainlanders who do not participate in li activities. Everyone in the li agrees that the Erhlei temple is at a higher level than Sanlei in the religious hierarchy. Other than for special events however, villagers in Sanlei and Szulei usually go to the Sanlei temple, and those in Erhlei and T'oulei, to the Erhlei temple although convenience is the only reason mentioned for the preference. It may be noted however, that the sets of villagers who prefer each temple are in perfect correlation with the sets of villagers who comprise the two regional li factions (See Chapter IV).

There is an Erhlei temple association board, similar to that described for Sanlei except that the membership consists of two senior men from each village in the li and an influential man in Erhlei is the effective informal leader in addition to being the formal head. Most affairs in the li temple (located in Erhlei) are run by this permanent temple committee although additional aides are selected by use of the shen pei. In accordance with the distribution of power in the li, if the head of an affair is from one end of the li, the chief assistant is from the other, and minor assistants are evenly distributed. However, the major permanent temple committee really runs the whole affair. The chairman has been

794 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged
632 for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind
621 of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions,
632 celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

In the post-World War II reconstruction of the typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

For many years Talei Li and another li jointly participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

4;Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

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The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chüan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613]

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 648 681 There was a similar organization under the Japanese but at that time the volunteers had more training, a regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat transgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 625 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 632 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

653 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573
621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
• 632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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festivals which punctuated the yearly cycle; these served as a functional alternative by special interspersing recreation days in the work schedule. Most of the special days were regularly scheduled, some on a yearly basis and some on a monthly basis. As previously described, some were specially scheduled in addition such as that for the Fire Purification Ceremony. Each of the major events in Sanlei's cycle will be discussed briefly below with dates indicated in accordance with the lunar calendar.[4] The particular events and/or the dates for their celebration vary for different regions of China, but nevertheless, the overall frequency appears to be about the same everywhere.

The listed items are not all of equal importance. For some, the activities might be restricted to a few hours in the evening and involve only the household members and even then, in only a minority of village homes. For others, the activities may last several days, involve many guests, and include 100% village participation. In general, most holidays always involve extra worship activities and special food in the evening at dinner. The presence of guests is nearly always evident for the more important affairs.

The year starts with the Hsin Nien (New Year's) celebration on the first day of the first month. This is the most important festival in the yearly cycle and the whole li cooperates in its celebration. Entertainment is always hired and usually retained for a full three days. Actually,